*177 175 437 439 food. Such exchanges were realized with the early prospectors. Provisions, especially cassava and meat, would be traded for salt, tools, tobacco, glass beads, and also money. Occasionally, parrots, monkeys, waracabras, and other pets were traded to these porknockers. [609] Exchanges would occur more or less by chance. A porknocker might wander into a settlement and wait until the bashful residents had recovered themselves sufficiently to come out of hiding and deal with him. There was little bargaining. Rather, each party approached the exchange as a nonrecurring opportunity. When prospecting became *177 175 423 more familiar among the Caribs, private ownership was recognized in gold creeks (Gillin 1934:335). The individual who discovered a [432] specific creek was considered to be the owner. He could sell it, usually to a porknocker who came.

*177 175 437 464 439 Eventually, Carib men exchanged short term periods of labor for trade goods. Often this work was done for a specific object. Guns which could be purchased over the counter in Georgetown were especially desired. An Amerindian would often be asked to cut down a large field and build a house for such a payment. However, as Gillin reports (1936:131), Caribs were not always so easily induced to work. The men of Savari refused employment by a prospector as they felt his trade goods were too meager. The Carib men had to desire the goods to be traded and also be assured of actually being paid and not expoited. It was some time before individual proknockers with their recurrent trips to the Upper Barama River area were able to count on help from specific Caribs. Even longer periods of trust were necessary before these Caribs agreed to work in return for specific trade goods

000 this work. With regard to hunting, all the game killed by a partic-
*177 ular gun, regardless of the marksman, is considered to belong to the
422 gun's owner. This obtains even if the owner is not along on the
224 hunting trip. After keeping what he wants of the catch for himself, the owner of the gun distributes the rest among the hunting party.

*177 The only instances in which women enter into immediate exchanges
• 432 with other Caribs involve the selling of pots.[5] Prices vary from $3.00 to $4.00 a pot. The number of exchanges has been small, and the potter is always the seller. No pots have been sold among the residents of the satellite settlements. At the Air Strip, two women have engaged in this enterprise.

*177 The first potter is Anna Abraham, a temporary resident at the
323 Air Strip. She makes her pots in Pisi Creek where she has located a
159 reliable source of clay. Male members of her household carry the pots on their backs to the Air Strip. Her pots are particularly noted for cracking and leaking, making it necessary for the purchaser
*177 to melt balata over them as a repair. Even so, during the first year
432 of her residence at the Air Strip, she sold nine pots, both tuluwa
159 and tukuwali varieties. Six pots were sold for the use of different women in the households of the Captain, the prominent Councillor, and Baird's father-in-law. The other three pots were sold to her sister and her sister's daughter. However, there was controversy regarding the exchange with her sister. The sister's household claimed they did not have the money to pay for the pot.

*177 Charlotte is the second potter. She is the same person Gillin
159 records as being the youngest wife of the headman of Savari. Now
323

*177 159 323 she is a dependent widow and lives with her two daughters and son-in-law in his father's clearing. Her pots are particularly noted for being lopsided, making them easy to identify. She was the first to attempt to locate a suitable clay source at the Air Strip. She makes only tuluwas and has sold four at the Air Strip. Three were sold for the use of the mother of the man in whose clearing she resides and one for his sister.

*177 593 431 The only cases in which pots were presented as gifts between clearings involve exchanges between mother and adult daughter. These are actual mother and daughter pairs. Classificatory relatives are not included. These gifts were made in four cases during the period of observation and are an aspect of the sustained generalized reciprocity between mother and adult child in different clearings. Exchanges between mother and adult son usually involve food. However, these exchanges are not formalized in any way and they do not always occur between specific mother and child pairs.

*177 592 [621] In sum, the pattern of cooperation among adult individuals residing in the same settlement has been eroded by the introduction of wage work, other markets, and a money economy. The household composed of an adult man and his wife or wives and children remains the primary cooperative economic unit. However, the household has been extended in various instances to include the adult son or son-in-law and their families. The sustained flow of mutual assistance among a wider circle of kinsmen no longer exists as a common pattern.

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*177 476 624 There is one exception to this pattern which has relevance only in its situational context. As the miners re-established bush farms,